

PEACE NEWS

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LIBERAL M.P. INDICTS CONSCRIPTION

“WHAT the world needs more than anything else today is a show of moral strength above everything else, and what it is really hungering for is moral leadership,” said Clement Davies, KC, MP, Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party, in an address he gave at the recent annual meeting of the No Conscription Council.

“During the war we all got into the mood of accepting orders, but what is appalling is that the younger generation have come to regard that situation as quite normal. They have known nothing else. We are restricted and ruled, and it is done in the name of guidance for the benefit of all; and there is very little objection to it. That to my mind is the saddest feature of all in the present age. There is not anything like the protest in this country that I should like to see and it is a part of the general trend that we are born into the world to be directed by someone.

“There are 19 million people under arms in the world today,” continued Mr. Davies, “from 40 nations; many of them poor, some of them small, and all staggering under the burden of taxation. They are spending the vast sum of 7,000 million pounds upon armaments.

The labour shortage

“In this country we are short of labour in every branch of industry—yet official figures show that there are 1,650,000 people either in or supplying the armed forces. There are engaged in industry for export, which is so vital, 1,500,000 people. We are employing men in the army and for army purposes to such an extent that it is our greatest industry today.

“Put your army at its greatest; what do you think you can accomplish? Will it strengthen the position of the Foreign Secretary in the world councils? If we had 38,000,000 tons of coal to export what a different position would be that of Mr. Bevin today, because he could then be offering distressed Europe what nobody else could offer. That would make his voice one of authority. A conscript army could not possibly add to his physical, still less to his moral, strength.

“There are millions who look towards this country as providing them with the ideal form of life or tending towards that ideal. We were the first to build up democratic institutions. Those who desired to follow on the democratic mode of life looked to us as being the beacon giving the light to all the rest. I cannot imagine anything more devastating to their hopes than the thought that England has abandoned this.

“I throw out this challenge to the Government:—The leading military authorities dislike conscription and are against it.”

In reply to a question asking whether, if the Liberal Party were returned to power, it would abolish the National Service Act, Mr. Davies replied: “Certainly.”

PALESTINE DANGER

A Pacifist's Plan for Partition

WAR between Arabs and Jews over Palestine is being prepared, war which only a few extremists on either side want, and which only the United Nations can avert. So far as can be seen at present the prospects of a bloodless settlement are none too good, since the majority proposals of the U.N. Commission on Palestine are impossible to carry out without fighting, and would have no permanence if achieved.

The views so far expressed by the United States and Russia favour the partition plan with modifications, but unrelated to the welfare of Arabs and Jews, and symptomatic of the conflict behind these views lie considerations of interests between the two Great Powers. Britain, holding the mandate for Palestine, is now concerned to save the remnant of her prestige in the Islamic world, while anxious to cut her losses to bolster up her domestic economy. She will therefore only accept partition if both Arabs and Jews agree: otherwise she will get out and leave the United Nations to clear up the mess.

In all this there are very few indications from any quarter of a desire to study the real interests of the two peoples, and to provide a solution of the problem corresponding to their needs and aspirations. The Commission's Report, both majority and minority, was ostensibly fair, but completely unrealistic. Palestine is to be turned into a kind of checker-board of alternating Arab and Jewish sections, with some consideration for existing population majorities, and in such a way that neither the Arab nor the Jewish State would have dominance. An Economic Union—the minority favoured Federal Union—is to provide the integrating factor. It is justice of a kind, but so rough and so senseless as to be provocative of greater evil.

Partition inevitable

Admitting that in the present temper of both peoples—for which neither Arabs nor Jews are chiefly to blame—partition has become inevitable, what could be more appalling than the proposed non-contiguous pockets of national segregation fantastically dignified by the name of States! What could be more frustrating to the legitimate aspirations of the two peoples, and what more calculated to result in open hostility? To imagine that economic union under such conditions would be practicable shows extraordinary lack of insight, while the frontiers drawn, even with modifications, could only be maintained by a very strong UN occupying force, most unlikely to be forthcoming. The conclusion is inescapable that the respective Arab and Jewish States must be self-contained and workable

by

HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

*Authority on the Near East,
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Society.*

States, or there must be none. Unless the States are self-contained, the minority problem would involve a repetition of the Indian massacres, and the only prospect of co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and advantage would be removed.

The present plan

As the partition plan now stands, it renders the Jewish position untenable by virtually surrounding 'Jewish' Galilee by 'Arab' Galilee, the Lebanon, Syria and Transjordan; the 'Jewish' Negev is almost completely isolated in the midst of the 'Arab' coastal belt and interior zone, Egypt and Transjordan. On the other hand, in defiance of the needs of the Arabs, and of the reality of the Arab League, Syria is severed from 'Arab' Galilee by an intervening 'Jewish' strip of territory, and in the South Transjordan is cut off from Egypt.

The Commission, no doubt, had an impossible task to apportion a territory between two peoples which the recommendations of the Peel Commission before the war clearly revealed could not equitably be apportioned. Palestine within its existing boundaries is not convertible into distinct Arab and Jewish States. Why then attempt it? If partition is essential, it is surely pertinent to inquire—as the Service-Nation Commission actually did—whether any regard should be paid to the present boundaries of Palestine. The problem becomes capable of solution only when it is recognised that these boundaries are artificial and of recent constitution. Palestine, as we know it, is purely a product of the first world-war. There is every reason now why it should disappear from the map, and be a bone of contention no longer.

Britain has herself complicated the issue. She has claimed that as the mandatory Power she had no authority to create independent Arab and Jewish States in Palestine. But the

mandate was never for Palestine only: it was for Palestine and Transjordan. Why, then, then could Britain arbitrarily sever these territories—which have to be considered as one whole—by creating an independent Arab State in Transjordan, and leaving Palestine indecisively on its own? Set aside these false frontiers, and think only of Arab and Jewish requirements, and the whole character of the problem is changed.

Southern Palestine, from Jaffa to the Egyptian frontier, and from North of Hebron to the Gulf of Aqaba, together with the central Arab area embracing the triangle Nablus-Tulkarm-Jenin, should be awarded to the Arab kingdom of Transjordan, giving that State a frontier with Egypt, and the access to the Mediterranean essential to economy. Transjordan can never flourish as a purely inland State. Further, communications should be assisted by the construction with UN funds of a branch line through what would be Western Transjordan, linking up the railway from Egypt with the Hedjaz Railway. North-West Palestine down to, and including the port of Acre should go to the Lebanon Republic, while the part of Palestine North of Lake Huleh should be given to Syria. Every one of the Arab States would then have an adequate seaboard, and the whole Arab League would be territorially associated.

Taking all refugees

These proposals, so advantageous to the Arabs, would still permit of a self-contained and self-supporting Jewish State, with a minimum Arab population, capable of taking in all the Jewish refugees from Europe. It would have a seaboard from Tel-Aviv to Haifa, and a hinterland reaching in two arms to Jericho and the Dead Sea in the South, and to Lake Huleh, the Sea of Galilee, Bashan and Gilead in the North.

The UN recommendations for the internationalising of Jerusalem and its environs, and for the protection of the holy places, would not be affected, and would satisfy the religious requirements of the situation.

National and political aspirations having been safeguarded, and economic needs provided for, there would be every possibility of the Arab League States and the Jewish State co-operating in amity and prospering. Is it too much to hope that even at the eleventh hour this better partition plan may be considered? If it is not, the United Nations will be responsible for the blood that will almost certainly be shed in the Holy Land.

The Question of Moral Leadership

CONSIDERING the at least partly religious origin of the PPU there seems little doubt that of the week's events the controversy between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Birmingham, inconclusive as it was despite its sharpness, must rank first as a subject of comment.

Unfortunately, as the holder of religious beliefs which are not only not Christian but, in some respects, positively anti-Christian, I cannot consider myself qualified to perform that task with all the objectivity it demands. It is only too obvious where my own sympathies must lie. But, speaking with due deference, I should like to suggest to the Archbishop and to any Peace News readers who may share his views a simple comparison with certain events in our past history:

In the second half of the sixteenth century, at a time when religion still had a far stronger hold on people than it has now, and when ecclesiastical authority could therefore much better afford the luxury—intellectually as well as practically—of setting its weight against innovations in the interpretation of Christianity and of the duties of the Church, there first arose the movement of the "Separatists"; and among other things which they criticised in the beliefs

enforced by the Ecclesiastical Commission was this: they held that the very existence of a national church was contrary to the Word of God. From a few scattered zealots their number grew quickly to twenty

COMMENTARY

by

ROY SHERWOOD

thousand, and their congregations spread all over England. They went at first under the name of Brownists, formed from that of their founder. They rejected ceremonial as a relic of idolatry, and a great deal of what the Church of England taught as mere superstition. They defied all efforts to subdue or to "conform" them, and they went to prison, many of them time after time, in growing numbers. Finally their persistence became such a nuisance that, with regard to one group of them in particular, in Lincolnshire under the leadership of a man named John Robinson, the magistrates at last gave a contemptuous assent to their plan to take themselves elsewhere. As John Richard Green's "Short History of the English People" has it, the magistrates (representing the Church and all its supporters), were "glad to be rid of them at any price." So,

at long last, they found a refuge at Amsterdam, in Holland, and it was from these exiles that the small band of Pilgrim Fathers came who went out in the "Mayflower" and founded modern America—the country without whose help we over here shall all drift into hunger and economic collapse within the next few months.

Am I too fanciful in seeing an analogy between the material success of the community founded by the outcasts of the sixteenth century and the poverty of the land which cast them out on one side, and the spiritual prospects of the two present schools of thought on the other? The Archbishop may be right, and I see that "Critic" in the New Statesman agrees with him. Perhaps Dr. Barnes should not stay in the Church of England. Only, surely, the loser would be the petrifying Church.

The King's speech

THE most important thing about the King's Speech at next week's opening of Parliament may not be what it says but something it may possibly not say. The nationalisation of the steel industry, already pared down to some extent, is now not likely to be proposed immediately, and probably not before the end of next year according to most observers. And, as its chances of becoming fact before the present

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ONE WORLD OR TWO

ONE World Movements appear to be on the increase. Hardly a day goes by without our receiving bulletins from yet another. The phenomenon might be encouraging, were it not that the one thing all these Movements have in common (apart from their membership) is the fact that they are Two World Movements.

In other words, multiply they never so fast (whether by binary fission or otherwise), not a single inch do any of them extend beyond the frontiers of Soviet Russia. The problem of recruiting One World Movements inside a totalitarian State has yet to be solved: and it happens to be the problem of peace.

The sponsors of these Movements are not altogether unmindful of the point. But, "if we cannot do everything, let us at least do something," they reply. And, often, after conjuring up the seductive picture of an all-but world-wide federation, they add, "Sooner or later the evident advantages of joining must prevail with the Soviet leaders."

Reluctant though we are to strike a discordant note (as committee-men say, when they are about to be more than commonly rude), we cannot feel the slightest confidence in this conclusion. For what, we ask ourselves, would the policy of the One World, vis-a-vis Russia, have to be—at any rate during the interim before the "evident advantages" became evident? Would it not have to be precisely the Truman policy of "containing" the Communist Other World? And would not the adoption of such a policy, by a hundred States in place of one, be just as likely to raise the old fatal cry of "encirclement" as persuade the Soviet leaders to surrender their sovereignty? The American leaders, after all, show little appreciation of the "evident advantages" of joining the Soviet Union. Indeed, the chances are that the very prospect of a One World Movement succeeding (especially as the only force strong enough to back it is fear of Communist expansion) would be the signal for global war.

It may be true, as Mr. Churchill has said, that two worlds can live side by side in peace, even though the one believes war to be inevitable: but only, as he also said, if the other happens to be more powerful—"so long as it is founded on freedom, justice and mercy—and is well armed." If a war of the Worlds was to be avoided, the sole alternative to the policy of "containment" would be one of unilateral disarmament. In short, the One World Movement turns out, appropriately enough, to be a glorious circumnavigation, at the end of which we should find ourselves exactly where we are now, confronted with exactly the same choice.

So far from doing something because they cannot do everything, the One World Movers are doing nothing because they will not do something—and doing it with an expenditure of idealism and energy, mankind can ill afford to waste. Sooner or later they will have to face up to the alternatives: unilateral disarmament (not necessarily conscientious objection) or intensified preparation for war. The sooner the better.

Some of us have chosen already. Because we do not believe that freedom and justice, let alone mercy, can be sincerely upheld by men prepared—or, as in Churchill's case, accustomed—to obliterate entire populations; because we do not see in dry powder the best evidence of trust in God, we are ready and willing to disarm. And we do earnestly pray and beseech the sponsors of One World, *alias* Two *alias* None, to consider again whether this is not, after all the only hope for humanity.

GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENCE

THE tension between what Mr. Lloyd George described as "the Saint and the shrewd politician" in Gandhi continued when he returned to India. He seemed like a man ground between the upper and lower millstones of British power and Indian revolt and violence. He resigned from the Presidency of the Indian Congress on the grounds that there was no real conviction on non-violence as a principle. He suggested to those who felt as he did that the true pioneer should settle in one village and there work for Hindu-Moslem unity, the raising of the depressed classes, and the restoration of agriculture. For himself, he would like to live so in some Frontier village.

In July, 1940, the Working Committee of the Indian Congress called upon the Government to make an immediate statement and promise of National Government. "The Working Committee states that if these measures were adopted, it would enable the Indian Congress to put all its weight behind the efforts to organise effectively the defence of the country." The Congress Committee confirmed this by 95 votes to 47, but in September the offer was withdrawn, as it was seen to involve the resignation of Mr. Gandhi if war was supported by Congress.

War-clouds

In December, 1941, the war-clouds which had gathered in the Far East broke towards India. War was no longer an academic matter. The position of Congress was stated by Nehru: "India is ready to give every help in men and money in the war, if it can get satisfaction on its political aspirations. The belief of Congress in non-violence would not stand in the way, and Gandhi is willing even to eliminate himself from the Congress for the sake of the needs of the country."

It is little wonder that Gandhi had said some time before, "Oh for two or three comrades of real conviction," and that he confessed:

Our greatest weakness remains—our lack of appreciation of the meaning of non-violence. While we keep to physical non-violence, violence lurks in our bosoms, and so we are betrayed into violence against one another. We had quarrelled with one another on Committee, and at times struck one another. We had parties in our midst competing and struggling for authority. Hindus and Moslems struck one another for the least thing. It is easy to blame the British Government for our lack of unity, but this is the way to perpetuate disunity. We knew that the policy of 'Divide and Rule' was here in 1920; yet we made Hindu Moslem unity a part of our programme. These examples of our weakness are deplorable. If my analysis of our failure is correct,

it is a great comfort that the remedy rests upon ourselves. We must put our house in order for it to be pure and strong enough to win respect and not fear among our opponents, through the witness in word and deed of our non-violence. If one criticises Gandhi, should it not be, as in criticising Beethoven, 'upon one's knees'; yet the question

George Ll. Davies

emerges constantly, 'Can men, especially in a mass-movement, be expected to rise to the height of ethical non-violence without an Evangel and a positive faith behind the ethic? the sense of this spiritual gap appears repeatedly in Pacifist policy and personality. In Gandhi's own confession, "It is politicians in the clothes of men of religion that I have met oftenest; but I dress like a politician, and am at heart a religious man. There will be no success for any man, however great he may be, if his background is not religious. I am not a bigoted Hindu, but a humble student with a strong leaning to Christianity." In 1941, Gandhi had made his own personal position quite clear:

Against all war

I should not be guilty of selling the birth-right of India for independence, as it would not be independence in reality. The right is demanded to witness against all war. They dare not keep silent in the inhuman slaughter. They must needs speak and write against it, and if need be, sacrifice their lives in the effort to stop this flood of blood. Few or many, they must live out their mission. They must have workers to teach the people in non-violent conduct, in face of the near perils. This involves work and education in the villages to move unemployment and fear. A movement of that kind on a large scale would produce a new society on the spot, and be the greatest contribution to peace at home.

The more recent developments of Indian Home Rule are known to us—the divisions into Hindustan and Pakistan, with all the powers and status and armies of separate States, and with all the panic and passions of Hindu-Moslem fanaticisms. One reads in the Press of 25,000 dead, and 2,000,000 migrants, and of rioting in Calcutta, Peshawar, New Delhi and elsewhere. With heroic faith

ENDS AND MEANS

THIS week a pacifist, well-known to many of our readers, not content with a gift of £25 to the PN Fund, has ordered a dozen extra copies of the next six issues, "to get into different people's hands."

This delights us even more than the gift: for while the Fund is necessary to keep PN in existence, it is only necessary to keep PN in existence in order that pacifism may be brought to the public. Furthermore, while by directly contributing to our means, you indirectly further our end, by directly furthering our end, you indirectly contribute to our means as well.

Every pacifist knows that Ends and Means must match, if anything worthwhile is to be achieved. Our end is unlimited, but our means are limited painfully. Therefore, if you can find new readers, please do; and if you cannot—there is always the Fund!

THE EDITOR.

Gandhi's last weapon of protest—the fast unto death—was resorted to with apparently miraculous success in Calcutta. What of his own reflections? The July issue of Harijan gives some remarkable admissions:

Talking to some friends, Mr. Gandhi said that the leaders had agreed to the partition as the last resort. They did not feel that they had made a mistake. Rather than let the whole country go to the dogs, they agreed to partition, hoping to give the country a much-needed rest. He felt differently. He had said that he would rather let the whole country be reduced to ashes than yield an inch to violence. But non-violence was his creed. It was not so with the Congress. The Congress had accepted non-violence as a policy.

"I have admitted my mistake," he continued. — "I thought our struggle was based on non-violence, whereas in reality it was no more than passive resistance, which essentially is a weapon of the weak. It leads naturally to armed resistance whenever possible. . . . The struggle in the Transvaal was not passive resistance. It was based on non-violence. The source of their strength was soul-force, not physical force." Intoxicated with his success in South Africa, he had come to India. Here, too, the struggle bore fruit. But he now realised that it was not based on non-violence. If he had known so then, he would not have launched the struggle. But God wanted to take that work from him; so He blurred his vision. It was because their struggle was not non-violence that they today witnessed loot, arson and murder. . . . He had never experienced the dark despair that was today within him.

Fundamental difference

What are the differences that matter. If you analyse them you would find only one fundamental difference to which all the others could be traced. 'Non-violence is my creed. It never was of the Congress. With the Congress it has always been a policy. A policy takes the shape of a creed while it lasts, no longer.'

In this gloomy retrospect and prospect, it is good to find a personal appreciation of Lord Mountbatten:

You must not act on suspicion. Look at the British. I confess I am not yet wholly free from suspicion. I wonder if they can really change completely. I trust Lord Mountbatten. The world cannot go on without trust. . . . In the meantime they must realise that the retention of the Union Jack for such period as India was a Dominion was, in his opinion a point of honour.

Mr. Gandhi's confession, after such heroic personal courage in pacifism, should be the concern of us all who question how far the mass-mind of public opinion and majority votes are appropriate to Pacifism, whether to rule, or to rebel against the rule of others. Liberty! What crimes are committed in thy name," cried Madame Roland in the French Revolution. Is it legal freedom we demand for conscience, or Free Men delivered from the fears and antipathies of the crowd? It is this vital difference that makes Mr. Gandhi stand out alone, with perhaps a remnant of convinced disciples, in prophetic witness to the soul-force of human personality in a world of mechanisms, antagonisms and mob majorities, which are making our modern anarchy. The odds seem impossible, unless one accents that other prophetic word, 'With man this is impossible: with God all things are possible.'

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Grateful Germans

IT is not clear from Paul Spencer's letter whether his indictment of "vile unfairness" was intended as a personal rebuke for my having recorded an expression of Swiss opinion, or as a sharp criticism of the Swiss for daring to have minds of their own. In any case, I share to some extent the feelings which they have on this matter, but in no condemnatory spirit. Should I be far wrong in suggesting that if Great Britain had lost the war, ninety per cent. of the population of these Isles would still be "Churchillian" at heart, and "regret nothing but that they had lost the war?"

Out of 400,000 PoWs at one time in this country, Paul Spencer, in common with others, has probably had contacts with some hundreds, but altogether this would only represent a minority of the PoWs here, and that total but a small proportion of the German population. Of course there are honourable exceptions (do they not fall within our experiences?) and I believe my article "Turin—the Fantastic and Wonderful" (Peace News, Sept. 5.) made this abundantly clear. But may I ask where Paul Spencer gains his facts to dispute

the opinion of the Swiss, so far better able to judge the German mentality than we are? In his hurry to lay a charge of "generalisation" at my door, he leaves traces of a similar charge on his own door-step.

Let us face the realities, and having done so, go forward with even greater zest to alleviate the untold suffering of the German people, asking and expecting nothing in return. Thus shall we gain their respect and eventually their enduring friendship.

A. J. GOWING.

Kirby House,
Syston, Leicester.

(We have received many letters supporting Paul Spencer's viewpoint, as expressed in PN, Oct. 10.—Ed.)

Keir Hardie Fellowship

SEVERAL people have expressed a desire for the formation of a Keir Hardie Fellowship, to oppose war, militarism and conscription, by means of non-violent direct action.

I should be pleased if any who think that such a fellowship would serve a useful purpose, and desire to have some part in it would send me a postcard to the address below.

HARRY HILDITCH.

23 Tixall Road,
Birmingham 28.

(Further correspondence on page 6).

Education for a Warless World

A PLAN for positive non-violent action by pacifists to prevent war was outlined by an Indian, Samar Ranjan Sen, of Dacca University, Bengal, at a West of England PPU week-end school in Killerton House, nr. Exeter, the week-end of October 11 and 12.

In this famous beauty spot, presented to the National Trust by Sir Richard Acland and now a Workers' Travel Association Guest House, some thirty PPU members spent a most enjoyable and profitable weekend during which they heard W. B. Curry, Headmaster of Dartington School, and author of "The Case for Federal Union," speak on "Education and Peace," and the foremost English potter, Bernard Leach, speak on "The Restoration of a Sense of Vocation" and describe his contacts with his beloved land of Japan.

The main cause

Samar Sen, speaking on "Moral Sanctions," expressed the view that if there was another war the main cause of it would be psychological—the fear of war, and the fear of one nation for another. It was therefore necessary to use psychological means to prevent it. The first need today was to launch such a moral offensive against war as to allay mutual fear and induce politicians to settle their disputes another way.

The use of "satyagraha" in Europe might well be seriously considered, he thought. Lord Mountbatten had stated after the recent rioting in Bengal that Gandhi's presence was equivalent to that of five divisions of troops.

Pacifists should not lay so much stress on negative attitudes, but more on positive intervention. They would thus take the ground from under the feet of the militarists who would be afraid that any overt act on their part against war resisters might rally public opinion on their side.

Samar Sen's plan envisaged war resisters in neutral countries launching a satyagraha campaign simultaneously against the two participants should a war break out or tension between them become critical. Volunteers would offer satyagraha on the frontiers of the two countries, and openly defy the immigration laws with a view to entering the countries concerned and exhorting their nationals to put pressure on their governments by all peaceful means to seek an immediate settlement. As they were arrested other volunteers would take their places.

A sense of vocation

Mr. Bernard Leach spoke at the Saturday evening session on "The restoration of a sense of vocation."

A very small percentage of boys and girls entering into life really found work which they wanted to do, he said. One wanted the fullest expression possible of creative human spirit in one's daily work, but the Industrial Revolution had brought a change in the status of the worker—he was becoming a slave to the machine. An increasing number of people were getting their pleasure after their day's work was done.

"Vocational therapy," not "occupational therapy" was what was wanted today, he continued, and emphasised the importance of communal

work which added up to more than the sum total of individual work.

"The way children are brought up today makes the achievement of a peaceful world much more difficult than it need be," declared Mr. W. B. Curry, at the Sunday morning session on "Education and Peace."

Education, today, he said, brought children up with a set of attitudes and loyalties which were deliberately fostered and were grave obstacles to a peaceful world. If patriotism was, as some people claimed, an instinctive loyalty then it was the only instinct which it was considered necessary to keep alive by deliberate means. He attacked the nationalist and "distorted" interpretation of history in schools.

"With all due respect to the PPU I don't believe the world is going to be saved by converting individuals to pacifism," he continued. "It is good if individuals refuse to do what they think is wrong, but there is not much hope of converting mankind to a policy of non-violent resistance. If we are not to be turned to atomic dust it will be by the application of some form of world government and the transfer of sovereign power to an international authority."

The difficulty was not technical but emotional, unwillingness to accept the surrender of national pride and the like which world government inevitably demanded.

The first task

The first task of those who cared about world peace was to take a careful look at the way, in schools and homes, we fostered and inflamed the sense of passionate devotion to a certain group, and distrust and animosity towards other groups, which goes under the name of nationalism and patriotism. It was not entirely deliberate. Like religion and some other things it was something which was more easily caught than taught, and parents very often passed on such a patriotic sense of values without realising it. As a result people talked about human beings as though their nationality was the most important thing about them. In fact the real divisions of human beings did not correspond to national frontiers at all. "The whole educational system is permeated with a nationalist taint, and we must get rid of it if there is ever to be a chance of creating a cosmopolitan organisation of the world."

The idea of competition in schools should be "soft-pedalled." The sole idea of co-operation ever suggested to a child was when some other group was to be defeated. Co-operation for co-operation's sake was rarely taught. Of course loyalty was often a very necessary and fine quality, but people should develop a far more critical attitude towards it.

"Most of us are much too prone to cruelty," he went on. "When we gossip, we talk about our neighbours' vices and not their virtues." There was an element of sadism in everyone and many people were not really enthusiastic about a peaceful world. Some people would even be disappointed if they knew there would never be another war. They thought life might then become "rather tame."

A lot of this was due to wrong education, to children being frustrated and subject to the moods of their elders, but one of the most hopeful signs in this distracted world was that people were developing a more human and understanding attitude towards children. When children were brought up in an atmosphere in which it was considered necessary to hit people if they were not willing to do what you wanted, they could only believe in the efficacy of force. It was hard to teach children the elements of democracy if most homes and schools were autocratic communities. When this situation existed it was a waste of time to have classes in "citizenship."

Mr. Curry finally praised the "progressive schools" which were

BRITISH M.P. ON PEACE MISSION TO THE STATES

MR. HENRY USBORNE, Member of Parliament for Acocks Green, Birmingham, General Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of The Crusade for World Government, a founder and vice-president of Federal Union Ltd. of England, vice president of the National Peace Committee and member of the Executive Committee of the "World Movement for World Federal Government," is on a month's lecturing tour in the United States, where he is furthering the work of the World Movement For World Federal Government and explaining the British Parliamentary Plan for the Peoples World Constituent Assembly in Geneva in 1950 and World Government by 1955, and to secure American participation in the preparations.

Mr. Usborne left England on September 25 to meet the World Government Movement and its leaders, and the general public in the United States. Upon his arrival in New York, Mr. Usborne was met by a welcoming committee of prominent Americans in the World Government Movement in that country, at the office of the Mayor of New York, William O'Dwyer. Included in the committee were Dr. Robert Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, former United States Minister to Norway, Mr. Clarence Streit, internationally-famous journalist, author of "Union Now" and "Union Now With Britain," and founder of the world-wide Federal Union organisation; Mr. Quentin Reynolds, well-known author; Mr. Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review On Literature; Mr. Edward Ansel Mower, radio commentator and author; Mr. Cord Meyer, Jr., President of the United World Federalists, largest American federalist organisation, and former assistant to Mr. Harold Stassen at the San Francisco Conference; and Mr. G. A. Borgese, secretary of the "Committee to Frame a World Constitution," a Chicago Federalist Group. The Committee accompanied Mr. Usborne to the Waldorf Astoria for Press conferences and meetings with the leaders of the American Movement.

HIS PLAN

Outlining his plan for direct election by the peoples of the world, he declared on his arrival: "We believe that World Government can be created in the short time left to us. We know in Great Britain that the Americans won't start a war, and the Europeans know that the Russians can't start one now. But the Europeans believe that the Americans might." Mr. Usborne said that the proposed World Government would supplement the United Nations. He also said: "U.N.O. cannot keep peace."

The Emergency Committee of the Atomic Scientists is helping defray the expenses of Mr. Usborne's tour, while the trip is sponsored by American World Government organisations.

Mr. Usborne has already visited Dr. Albert Einstein, who supports the People's World Convention idea, and spoken in Washington to the American Newspaper-women's Association, where he first launched his drive. On September 29, he spoke to a luncheon meeting of the American Public Relations Association in Washington. He had a speaking engagement on a national hook-up for the famous Chicago "Round Table of the Air." On October 6, he was to see President Truman, and in Chicago received greetings at the office of Mayor Martin H. Kennelly. He also attended a luncheon meeting at the City Club, and held a Press conference on this date.

AT OAK RIDGE

At Detroit, Michigan, he attended a joint CIO-AFL (Congress of Industrial Organisations — American Federation of Labour) meeting for key labour leaders.

From Chicago he proceeded to Tenn., where an evening meeting had been arranged at Oak Ridge Engineers' and Scientists' and all Civic Clubs: Oak Ridge is the home of the largest US atomic energy plant, where the first atomic bomb was produced.

trying to discover "the best and most appropriate techniques in self-government and democratic machinery and helping children to become aware of certain values which are a necessary part of the function of democracy."

He broadcast on October 18, at Cleveland, Ohio, and on the "American Forum of the Air" from Denver, Colo. He will be returning to New York on October 29, and expects to speak at a dinner at the Overseas Press Club before leaving to return to London on that date.

Drew Pearson, Washington columnist, in his nationally syndicated column, wrote a full article praising Mr. Usborne, and doing a quick sketch of the Plan. He said that Mr. Usborne had impressed a great many important people in Washington.

U.S. AMNESTY MEN ON TRIAL

New York, Oct. 14, 1947.

THE 19 persons arrested during the "New York amnesty demonstration at the 'Freedom Train' were dismissed by the magistrate after a police official testified he had given permission for the poster walk.

At the trial on October 9, the case was dismissed at the conclusion of police testimony, and the defence did not have to call any of its witnesses.

Inspector Fristensky, who had ordered the demonstration moved at 7 p.m. despite previous arrangements with other police officials to continue until 8, tried hard to give a picture of extreme traffic congestion to justify himself. This was not surprising to those who had appealed to Fristensky at the time on the basis of the arrangement made with Inspector Deickmann, and had heard Fristensky reply, "I outrank anybody else around here, and if it had been up to me you wouldn't have had permission in the first place." It became evident, even to the magistrate, that the traffic situation had not changed materially between 6 and 7; the only new factor was that Inspector Fristensky had come on duty at 6.30.

The case for the prosecution was not helped by the accounts of the arresting officers. One admitted that any of the five policemen standing by the line from 6 o'clock on could have made arrests if it seemed necessary but had not seen fit to do so. It also came out that the men forced across the street were then arrested for refusing to move on, after Fristensky had said they could continue marching there. One man was arrested for trying to speak to a friend in the group being held for the police wagon, and another was included when one policeman told another that he had asked to be arrested—which was not even true.

Displayed before the magistrate were the posters carried in the demonstration and photographs taken at the time. These latter showed clearly that there was no extreme congestion. Fristensky refused to identify them positively as representing the actual demonstration, saying, "Photography is tricky." This brought a laugh, especially from the photographer himself who was one of the defendants.

When Inspector Deickmann told of agreeing to the time and place in discussions prior to the demonstration and failed to back up the traffic-congestion accusation by omitting mention of it, defence counsel offered, "Motion to dismiss," the magistrate snapped, "Granted," and the case was over.

Discussions are now under way regarding the possibility of a suit for false arrest. In addition, both the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defence League are considering action against increasing antagonism and illegal action by New York police against political demonstrations.

Frances Rose Ransom

Words of Peace - No. 225 Master and Disciple

Christ came that we might have life... He showed that only he that loses his life can save it. He showed this by every possible word and act. Now in our time it is still true—it is still the foundation. We live in a time racked by widespread misery, discontent, war, and fear of war. We live in a time, famous as no former time has been, for its material triumphs. Can we put these things together? Can we not see that our material triumph, because it is hollow in itself, is the very cause of our spiritual and physical misery? We have gained the whole world and lost our soul.

—Eric Gill—"Social Justice and the Stations of the Cross."

HOSTEL IN HAMBURG

THERE have already been several articles on work parties in Europe this summer, but I think it is worth while to add some notes on the first short-term relief party to visit Germany since the war. It was organised by the YHA and consisted of 10 men and 3 girls, not all pacifists and not all skilled building workers, but aiming to help to repair a German Youth Hostel. Having written a short autobiography and family history on various forms, we finally obtained our passports with the necessary visa and sailed from Harwich on July 15 in a WFA boat carrying English to homes in Denmark, and Danes back to their own homes after holidays in England.

A Friends' Relief truck met us in Denmark and took us the 250 odd kilometres, first through the neat Danish countryside and past the waving cyclists, then across the frontier into Germany. The land seemed well cared for, in parts harvested, gleaned and gleaned again, but it was a land of sullen looks. We gave lifts en route to several heavy-laden folk on their way back to town after visiting friends or relations; through shattered Kiel we drove, and finally to Hamburg, where in the north part of the town, between a hospital and a stadium, were the wooden huts we were to live in and repair.

Some beauty still

A quick tour round Hamburg that evening showed us the beauty it still held, and gave us an idea of the extent of the stinking, uncleared rubble where still lie interred some thousands of victims of obliteration bombing.

As there was as yet not room for all of us at the camp some of the party went to a Youth Training Centre where they started work next day on cleaning out a ditch which received the overflow from a much overworked sewage system. The rest of us, with four Cambridge students who were already there, began to clean the huts as a preliminary to repairing them. Successive waves of soldiers, prisoners of war and DPs had left their dirt behind them, and many doors and windows had helped to keep a fire going in a Hamburg house last winter. We slept in a dormitory with our fourteen German workmates (two Dutch and two Danish hostellers were reported to have left to join us, but unfortunately never arrived), and the Army rations that we drew were added to the German rations and provided all with adequate and wholesome food.

Musical evening

Sweets, coffee, cigarettes and food that we had brought were kept for evening gatherings, such as the visit of fifty young Germans for singing and dancing, an evening that I shall remember for its closeness and the untiring energy of our guests. Incidentally I was surprised to see the schoolgirls playing their strenuous kind of handball in the stadium for long periods, hitting the ball with their closed fists, not comparable, I thought, with tennis at St. Winifred's. Helmut, the roofer, with whom I worked, was a member of Hamburg's football team and played several evenings a week this scorching July after a day's work, still squeezing "away" matches in at the weekend. The sunshine had given everyone the tan which is associated with good health, but this must have been misleading, for the official 1,500 calories per day were not obtainable on the ration card. The 900 actually purchasable in the shops had to be supplemented by "buying Black."

Walking back one evening past various standing houses and flats, I was treated by my companion, a teacher, to a description of the numbers of Germans who had been evicted to make room for British officers, their wives and families; and how all last winter she had to pass these warm, well-lighted dwellings on her way back to a dark, icy room. I felt ashamed of being in part responsible for this in that I tolerated it. If one accepts the principle of military occu-

pation, then the residential quarters, the families' shops with their goods hidden behind bricked-up windows, the free public transport for service

by Simon Bennett

personnel and other privileges calculated to inspire "respect," remorse and humility in the defeated population—all these things make sense. But viewed in the light of sanity and of the equality of men...

A description of the camp would not be complete without reference to the other occupants. About one hundred boys from twelve to twenty, who, because they were orphans, because there was no room at home or because they were plain difficult, lived in extreme simplicity and poverty in another row of huts. Shagless and shirtless round the camp they were, mostly apprentice bakers during the day. (All branches of the catering trade are naturally most popular.) For their evening wash they used grit, as soap, when obtained, does not clean; their meals were predominantly soup. They were segregated and suspect. It was always necessary for us to have someone around our part of the camp, for any article has potential Black Market value, and they were ordered away if seen nearby. The police used to come at night, we were told, when they were in bed, to detain those who had stolen or otherwise transgressed outside the camp. Any contact with them was difficult as, after a preliminary exchange of greetings in English, the outright question was "Have you any cigarettes?" or "Do you want to buy...?" and there the extent of the contact ceased. It was difficult, too, to help these problem children, for if we had invited them over indiscriminately they would have

helped themselves to tools, blankets and cutlery, all of which were short enough for the German hostellers: I have heard since that some who had visited us for evenings round the fire had been badly treated by the rest for "fratting." How many thousands of these lads, possessionless, unloved, uncared-for, are being raised, potential criminals, in Germany today?

But of the things we were able to achieve—from the first clanging of the broken shovel we used as a gong to the last Guten Nacht, an air of cheerful industry pervaded the camp. The work of scrubbing, swilling down, tearing, ripping and burning, was followed by nailing, sawing, laying felt, glazing, painting and distemper-painting. The barracks were in fact transformed with the materials and tools that we had brought (one rucksack weighed half a hundredweight), and those magically produced by the German clerk of works, though the latter were of miserable quality.

German volunteers

We all got on well together, and the first feelings of self-consciousness soon wore off in the intimate conditions under which we lived. The Germans, too, were volunteers and ranged from sixteen years to Walter, the father of two children, whose fortieth birthday fell on the same day as mine, an event that involved much intense handshaking and exchange of greeting. He was a pacifist, and had refused to carry a weapon in the army, undertaking stretcher-bearing and the cleaning of latrines. Others said they were pacifists, but qualified their statement by adding, "But not so much so that I would not be prepared to fight for..." In other words, like the rest of the world, they were sick of war.

The very fact of having materials and tools and somebody to work with was obviously a great filip to our comrades, and we achieved more than we had hoped in that short fortnight. Many memories, pleasant and unpleasant, I have of Hamburg—of friendships formed and songs sung, of the miles of twisted metal that was once the greatest port of Europe, of the stench of unemptied garbade cans, of the blue Alster, the broad Elbe, of the way that people looked at a parcel you were carrying down the street.

Another party followed us some weeks later, after transport difficul-

But Are Pacifists Sensitive?

THE article "Food and Peace," by Roy Walker, in your issue of September 26 brought to my mind an incident at a Pacifist Conference, when a young vegetarian got up in the meeting and asked the Conference whether it wouldn't include this question of blood-free diet as one of the "Aspects of Pacifism" which the Conference was considering.

The Chairman tactfully and charmingly, but none-the-less firmly, ruled it out of order. Yet of the 120 people present, about 20 were vegetarians, so a much higher proportion of pacifists than of the general public must be vegetarians, if that was a representative gathering.

Unlike Roy Walker, I do not find that "the lingering belief that such a diet is inadequate for full health" is the chief obstacle to the practice of vegetarianism. Such arguments are certainly advanced, but they are so quickly and so easily disposed of by actual demonstration, that one quickly gets to the really radical obstacle, namely, a life-long habit, and from habit a liking for the taste of meat. It requires a great effort to change a habit which is not only personal, but national and racial, and it involves one in certain social difficulties.

As for the taste of meat—well, the palate and the stomach will not be denied if they can help it. But the question then arises, "Am I to be governed by my palate—perverted by long mis-use, or is it to be governed by me, the higher Man?"

MANY people, especially pacifists, are convinced of the rightness of the vegetarian diet, but the conviction is intellectual only. They frankly confess, when faced with a request for an absolutely truthful statement as to why they don't act upon their own conviction, "Well, I like meat: that's all there is to it."

A woman pacifist I know was asked whether, if meat were not available, she could go and kill a sheep herself, and her reply was, "Certainly, anything rather than go without."

This suggests that the "sensitivity" referred to towards the end of the article is not possessed by all pacifists—nor, of course, by all vegetarians. And the "daily discipline of compassion" for which Roy Walker makes his plea, is more difficult to practise than to recommend.

We, as pacifists, are agreed that on a world scale, power must not be used to oppress and exploit the weak. Can we not put our own world in order, and resolve that where we are in control of a situation there shall be no violence done to our lesser brethren, no blood shed to provide a feast for our own fallen tastes?

Such an opportunity is at hand at all times to every man, woman and child, and it is entirely up to each individual to take this step in his or her own life. No-one else can do it for him. It does not need any legislation. It is quite unaffected by motions passed or rejected at Committee meetings. It is open to both

RIGHT ALL THE TIME

MISS ADLAM, of the Friends Ambulance Unit, China, recently addressed a meeting of the newly-formed Peace Union in Christchurch.

At the close of the evening Miss Adlam was asked what her attitude to pacifism was now after twenty-five years in China with experience of much fighting there. Her reply, given in her quiet, restrained and thoughtful manner, was:

"For many years after I was in China I was a full pacifist and thought I would not change. Then, when the Japanese came I saw what they were trying to do. I felt it was not an ordinary conquest. For the Chinese to be conquered and even to be turned into hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Japanese would not have been so bad. But I saw the Japanese setting out to destroy and enslave their minds with drugs of all kinds. I saw them using Koreans and Formosans to do their dirty work in this way and I came to believe that I could not keep my pacifism in the face of this. I believed this had to be stopped, and if the only way to stop it was by war it was better to take that way than to accept this terrible demoralisation and slavery."

Miss Adlam then paused and quietly added:

"But now the Japanese have been defeated and I have seen the aftermath of chaos and suffering in China, the despair and the misery, and the tyranny of the victors, and the problems that have been created and not solved by war—not only in China but in Europe also—I KNOW THAT YOU PACIFISTS WERE RIGHT ALL THE TIME."

—The New Zealand Christian Pacifist.

ties, to continue our uncompleted work, and we are hoping to see some of our German friends over here late this year. More parties should go next year, if regulations permit, to help remove this feeling of being out-cast (that keeps the German cynical and despondent), besides the material shortages that get steadily worse. And everyone who will can help by sending parcels or even letters regularly, and attempting to establish a human contact over this barren waste of retribution.

sexes and all ages, and there is no distinction of class, colour or creed.

IF pacifists fail to see the connection between meat-eating and war, the militarists have more perspicacity! I have before me a news-paper cutting dealing with the work of psychiatrists in war, and amongst other things it speaks of the training of recruits in the realities of the battlefield. To induce the necessary bloody-mindedness, it appears that the trainees were taken to slaughter-houses, where they could watch the process of living, sentient creatures being turned into joints for the table. It is interesting to read that this part of the training was later dropped, as it was discovered (and this is where the psychiatrists came in) that it was having the opposite effect to what was intended; the men, instead of showing the appropriate lust for blood, exhibiting signs of distaste, and even revulsion.

It makes one wonder whether there may not be dark forces who deliberately conspire to keep hidden the relevance between the unceasing slaughter of creatures for food, and the large-scale human slaughter we call "war." Is it perhaps, after all, a difference of degree only, and not of kind?

Tolstoy seemed to think so when he wrote:

"Thou shalt not kill" does not apply to murder of one's kind only, but to all living beings, and this Commandment was inscribed in the human breast long before it was proclaimed from Sinai.

DOROTHY WARD.

A FEDERATED WESTERN EUROPE MIGHT STAVE OFF WAR

— Prof. Joad

PROF. C. E. M. JOAD drew a large audience to the second of the National Peace Council lunch-hour meetings, held on October 15.

"So far as moral wisdom is concerned," he said, "we are faced with the unpleasant situation that the recipe for increasing human virtue isn't known. We don't know how to make human beings better. Some will at once point to religion—the Christian religion in particular—and I would agree. But it has not yet been discovered how to make people attend to the principles of the religion they profess.

We have those collections of human beings whom we call national states, dominated by desires of aggression and selfishness, whose material power has been increased to such a degree by science, that it often seems as if our civilisation hangs upon the very verge of destruction. This is no reflection upon Christianity: it is a reflection upon ourselves."

What science has done

Prof. Joad pointed out that one of the things science has done to the world is to make it a single economic and technological unit. He began his talk with the generalisation that the present scientific power of mankind over nature has enormously exceeded human wisdom in the use of that power. A frightening example of this generalisation was the political division of the world, in spite of its material unity, into a number of sovereign national states.

Thus, not knowing how to make people better, Prof. Joad fell back upon an attempt to persuade them to bring about a different political organisation of the world: to place the control of foreign policy, of trade policy, of the armed forces in the hands of a single federated world government, in which the individual citizens of every nation would be directly represented.

Even apart from the case of Russia, this was a tall order, he knew, but

one must start somewhere. Therefore he advocated starting with Western Europe in general, and with Britain and France in particular. He had taken part in a delegation of MPs from both Houses of Parliament (only two of the members of the delegation were not MPs), in order to discuss such a proposal of federation with French Deputies. Only in this way could the two countries become strong enough, economically and politically, to stand against the domination of Russia on the one hand and America on the other. Thirdly, only together could they successfully guard the threatened cultural and spiritual values of Western civilisation.

No real obstacle

What prevents such a union? One has to answer that there is no real fundamental obstacle except the psychological obstacle of national pride.

In answer to a question, Prof. Joad agreed that in one sense a federated Western Europe would be a power bloc. Like Mr. G. D. H. Cole last week, he felt this was the only way of staving off a head-on clash between Russia and America. In the traditional sense of a power bloc, however, he could not envisage the federation he had in mind with aggressive or imperialist designs.

PPU Special Gen. Meeting

OUR attention has been drawn to an ambiguity in the report of the Birmingham PPU meeting, published in PN Oct. 10.

Rosalind Rusbridge points out that, in the view of the Mill Hill Group, "once having encouraged a pacifist's attitude, it is wrong to urge young men to express this in any particular way, conditionalist or otherwise, since older pacifists differ so profoundly among themselves on this point."

Edith Cullingworth writes that in the view of the Leicester Group also "It is not a question of two alternatives—shall we advise young people not to register or shall we advise them to register as C.O.s."

"We are in favour of a campaign against the Conscription Act but, we are not in favour of including in a National Campaign, directed against the public in general, specific instructions of any kind to young men of 17 and 18 years as to what they should do when called upon to register, for the following reason: Not all young people at 17 or 18 have achieved physical and emotional stability or have had the environment in which they can adequately arrive at a sound decision of this nature."

"With regard to young people about to register, therefore, we think there should be arranged, either through the CBCO or a special panel of advisers means of advising young people individually of the various forms of action possible and their consequences according to their stage of maturity and of intellectual and moral conviction which they have reached. A decision reached after such advice would be more soundly based and obviate defections from pacifism which have taken place in the past where people have yielded in the first place to the emotional appeal of public propaganda."

S.E.N.'s Radio Appeal: receipts exceed £8,000

"THE results of our BBC Broadcast have been magnificent," report Save Europe Now. "More than £8,000 have been received and only one hostile letter. The success of this appeal is encouraging because it shows that in spite of our own difficulties in Britain, most people do realise that many European countries are much worse off and are eager to help."

Oswestry, a Shropshire town with a population of 10,000, has given a magnificent lead to SEN's autumn campaign with a total of £406 in money, 1½ tons of clothing sent to FRS, and 6 cwts. of food. Another good effort has been made by the Birkenhead Churches' Save Europe Now Council. They have sent to a church in Kiel over 3 cwts. of food and more than 4 cwts. of clothing.

Early in November a campaign will be opened for Christmas parcels for European children, containing chocolate and sweets, other rationed food, second-hand toys and educational material such as paint boxes, chalks, drawing books, etc. Bulk consignments earmarked for the relief of children will also be possible. A special scheme is already being arranged in Bristol for gifts of chocolate and sweets for the children of Hanover.

A small printed leaflet and collecting envelope for a special Christmas appeal for the European Relief Fund will be available free of charge from Save Europe Now, 15 James Street, London, W.C.2. Orders should be sent in as early as possible.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, October 23, 1937

Official figures indicate that the cost of living, excluding food, has gone up 10 per cent in twelve months. It will indeed be a hard winter for the people of this country. Our womenfolk of the poorer classes will undoubtedly have to work greater miracles.

For why? The Government tells us that rearmament necessitates a rise in the retail cost of ordinary commodities—that if we want peace and security we must be prepared to pay the price: to sacrifice a little, to pull in our belts. Peace? Is world peace more apparent today than it was in October last year? Security? Are we more secure from war than we were twelve months ago?

Germany's determination to press her colonial claims ensures that one more problem will face the British Government either when Mediterranean and Far Eastern problems have at long last been painfully solved, or worse still, while they are still trying to grapple with these.

October 24, 1947, PEACE NEWS—5

"Morally Unjustifiable"

CHURCH CONDEMNS RETENTION OF POWS

UNANIMOUS approval was given by the joint synod of the Convocation of York, on Oct. 17, to a resolution, moved by the Archdeacon of Chester (the Ven. R. V. H. Burne), condemning Britain's retention of German POWs.

The Archdeacon pointed out (Evening Standard, Oct. 17) that it was a blot on our fair name to keep these men and contrary to the ordinary Englishman's idea of fair play.

Degrading

"We have taken human flesh and blood for our own needs, and that is a degrading thing."

It had been said that we were keeping the men because we needed their labour. That was the reason in the olden days for employing negro slaves.

Mr. Attlee's reasons for the prisoners' retention were considered by the Convocation to be morally unjustifiable.

Canon E. T. Kerby said that there was a danger of upsetting the very delicate system of economy which existed in Germany by immediately returning all these prisoners. They contributed a great deal to the welfare of the people of this country and we should remember that 127,000 had been employed in agricultural labour. They should not allow sentiment to carry them too far. It was not unreasonable to expect that prisoners should do useful work in this country.

Virtual slaves

Canon Ferguson, of Southwell, in condemning the keeping of these men as virtual slaves, said: "I would rather be in rags in my own country than a slave in another."

The Bishop of Sheffield, in associating himself with the motion, said it was difficult to know whether the prisoners who had homes in the Russian Zones should go back, and one could wish that some people would be ready to welcome such men into the working forces of this country. The exceptional disproportion of the sexes in the British zone of Germany was a danger. "If these men," he said, "could return to their homes and take up normal life as husbands and fathers, the moral and social conditions of the zone might be expected to improve."

AMERICAN FRIENDS OPINION SURVEY

That Americans are becoming war-minded and are preparing for war is the unhappy conclusion drawn from a survey made by the peace caravan of the American Friends Service Committee. The committee asserted that the poll revealed that the people are accepting the opinion of the military without question and that people generally are indifferent to the difficult issues that confront the world today.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

MEETINGS, &c.

WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St., W.1. Bond St. Tube. "The Gospel of Peace!" Sun. evenings at 6.30. Social hr. follows.

KINGSLEY HALL, Powis Rd., Bow, E.3. Sunday Evening Services, 6.30 p.m. Oct. 26: Spkr. Mabel Shaw; Nov. 2: Mildred Cable; Nov. 9: the Rev. B. C. Plowright. Followed by canteen and open discussion. All welcome.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Wed., Oct. 29. Lunch-hr. mtg. (1.15-2.15). Edward Atiyah, "Palestine—The Arab Case." Admission free. Programme of series from National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

CENTRAL LONDON Group, W.C.1. Nov. 1. After the music... moonlight. Meet plat. 1, Liverpool St., 11 p.m., for a ramble. Food and cup.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Oct. 26: "The Future of Italian Colonies." Sylvia Pankhurst.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

FREEHOLD BUNGALOW, at Clacton. Vacant possession, £1,100. Detached, 2 beds., bath, el. lt. 2 miles sea. Good Mortgage arranged without commission. 38 Oak Tree Gardens, Bromley, Kent.

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FOR SALE & WANTED REBILIX MUST buy typewriters. We arrange advertisements and pay good commissions to any contacts in provinces who will forward replies. Full details from Rebilix Typewriter Co. Ltd., 561 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middx.

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ENVELOPES, 5 x 6½ (Large Court), good quality, suitable for cards. 25s. 6d. a thousand (not less than 500's supplied). Write Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

BUNGALOW GAS cooker. Clean grey-white enamel: £3 10s. Record quick release 8" vice, 25s. Heavy pre-war bench 18 x 48 ins., Record vice, shelf under: £5 5s. 5in. Double plano-convex condenser, 20s. Tripod metal, 5s. Page, Woodland House Cottage, Whitehall Road, Woodford Green, Essex.

RONEO DUPLICATOR for sale—table model—in good cndtn., produces excellent wk. Apply Box 793.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

LONELY? JOIN Friendship Circle. Details 6d., Sec., 34 Honeywell Rd., London, S.W.11.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

THE PPU Development Cttee. intends to appoint in the New Year a Roving Field Worker, who under their direction would be allocated from time to time to different areas where temporary assistance is required with the work of promoting pacifist witness in the country. For further particulars, write at once to the Gen. Sec., Dick Sheppard House 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

KIBBLESTONE HALL, Stone, Staff., still requs. a cook. Excellent post in all ways, either permanent or temporary. Also someone to do laundry. Men or women. Write to the principal.

A DEVELOPMENT OFFICER who will supervise the work in Records Dept., act as Secretary to the Cttee., and spend a considerable amount of time among Groups and individuals helping to promote pacifist witness, is required immediately by the PPU Development Cttee. For further particulars, write to Gen. Sec., Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED WAR RESISTERS' International anxious find opening for Dutch girl as Mother's help, nr. London, age 21, experienced in hsewk. and with children. Knowledge of English. Write WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield Mdx.

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MISCELLANEOUS

CAN ANY London members help Peace News by folding Christmas Cards—at home or this office. Will you kindly write the Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

INSURANCE IS now the best investment. Accident and sickness 10s. yearly. Several house purchase schemes. No claims bonus on household policies. R. C. Horwood, Turvey, Bedford.

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Political juggling no substitute

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

Parliament runs out are practically nil, unless the powers of the House of Lords are tackled first, the Government's intentions with regard to this most contentious piece of nationalisation will become more or less apparent through the presence or absence—and in the case of presence, through the precise nature—of any reference in the King's Speech to the House of Lords. A great deal is involved in that issue. Externally, it means whether this Labour Government feels strong enough to brave the disapproval of America; internally, it is the hardest test-stone of Labour solidarity and discipline. The general election was fought and won with the nationalisation of steel a major issue. Now, diplomatic tactics would suggest a gentle fade-out of this bugbear of those who have most to say in USA economic policy, at least until the question of American help for Britain is settled. Well, we shall know before these lines appear in print.

"Wages in danger"

IN the meantime the desperate search for dollars and the frantic drive for increased exports are continuing. So is the demand for higher wages from all sorts of quarters. Mr. Dalton's Autumn Budget is not due for another three weeks, and already the Daily Worker is attacking it in an article "Wages in Danger" (October 16) written in connection with Sir Stafford Cripps' speech at Wolverhampton. In this, the Government's Austerity and Efficiency Expert had said that it was already growing more difficult to sell British exports abroad. The first mad post-war scramble for goods being over, customers are beginning to compare prices, reviving the old struggle for cheapness in production. But in that struggle, continued Sir Stafford, the possibility of reducing wages would be considered only as a last resort. This leads the Daily Worker—as it will surely lead others in the near future—to a fierce protest against the mere adumbration of anything capable of lowering the workers' living standard, whether it

be in this direct form of wage reduction or in the indirect one of increased purchase taxes or the reduction of food subsidies. And, as I am writing this, the B.B.C. brings the news that fifty shop-stewards acting on behalf of the London dockers have just rejected an appeal not to strike in sympathy with certain cold-storage workers who are already "out." Again, it is a question of wages. Unpopular as it is bound to be, I have to ask the question: Where is it all to come from? Is there no one to bring home to the masses that it is what the vast bulk of the country's working population demands and consumes—and not the luxury of the few—that makes or mars all plans for getting out of the mess? For justice and morality's sake, put a stop to indolent ease, to privilege by virtue of inheritance, and to a lot of other social and financial abuses we can no longer afford, by all means. But let us not mistake the self-righteous joy of denouncing the wickedness of others, seasoned with a spice of envy of their lot, for the solution of our troubles.

Moral leadership - & how?

YET, undisturbed by the clamour of discordant claims, we hear voices from both of the two great political parties—with an occasional Liberal thrown in for good measure—telling us that only we, the British people, are capable of assuming the moral leadership of the world and that we must do so, in order to avert the otherwise inevitable clash between Russia and America.

How is it to be done? You cannot gain peace by war. You cannot regain youth by dyeing your hair. Can you attain moral leadership by a fall from your former standards of honesty, industry and sense of individual responsibility? In my last commentary, nine weeks ago, I wrote of the increase in sympathy with authoritarian ideas all over the world; last week, the editor of Peace News reported a state of affairs in Italy from which he drew the conclusion: "A second dictatorship is inevitable. The only question is, whose?" Misguided as they may be, it is not the worst elements among our workers who are making nuisances of themselves in Ridley Road, Dalston, every week-end. (In anticipation of the inevitable letters of disagreement let me call attention to the fact that I am not thinking here of their anti-Semitism—which is far from being all of their creed—and that I have, moreover, called them misguided). And let me add one more example of the same tendency, in the form of the latest story from Vienna.

To make it understandable to those who have not been there since the war it is necessary to say, by way of introduction, that ever since the German capitulation former members of all the outlawed Nazi organisations have been registered as such, and that big notices announcing the order of compulsory registration have been displayed in all public offices for more than two years. A week ago, runs the story, a man walked into a police station and said he wanted to register as a member of the Nazi party. When the police official behind his desk had recovered, he yelled at him: "... and don't you know that you ought to have done that two years ago—you'll go to prison for this delay." Whereupon the man answered simply: "Don't be silly. I only joined two days ago."

(Since the above was written, the first results of the municipal elections held all over France on Sunday, Oct. 19, have been announced. They are admittedly incomplete, but, as far as they go, they show the De Gaullists, with 36 per cent. of the votes, to be well in front.)

In such a world a moral leadership for democracy can be gained only by merit and value so extraordinarily and so inspiring that, in frightened comparison with the standard needed, we can only hide our heads in blushing shame. Political juggling is not a substitute.

FINAL RELEASE OF POWs

The final release date given by the Government for POWs is December 31, 1948. A printer's error in our issue of Oct. 10 caused the date to appear as 1947.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CONTINUED FROM
PAGE 2

Russia and the warmongers

IT is astonishing that Ken Woodroffe (October 3) should find Mr. Hector McNeil's UN speech "notable for its dignity and common sense." To me it seemed mostly evasive "hectoring" which failed signally to face up to Vishinsky's indictment of American war-mongering.

Not a word of comment is made upon this. Nothing is said about Vishinsky's proposed resolution demanding the abolition of atomic weapons, and asking all governments to make war propaganda subject to criminal punishment. Nothing about the serious apprehension which, he alleged, was being caused by Anglo-American unwillingness to disarm; or about the charge that Britain and America were weakening UNO by attempting to use it for their own selfish interests.

Either this was so much cynical bluff, or it was the utterance of a man moved by vehement conviction. Whichever it was, to ignore it is no answer, any more than Cadogan's walk-out followed by fifty pressmen was an answer. McNeil had talked of the necessity for tolerating views (including war-mongering views?) freely expressed by the citizens of free states. But to walk out rather than hear out is not an exemplary display of tolerance, desire for understanding, or even of adult dignity and good manners.

Even the Observer (September 28) confessed: "most Americans would admit that some newspapers and some individuals—particularly in financial and Wall Street circles—are inexcusably cold-blooded about the possibility of a third world-war."

To forestall misunderstanding, may I add that I am neither particularly pro-Russian nor a Communist. I am simply a pacifist who does not want the next (atomic) war. Also I suspect that "delimitation of sovereignty" may be just another little trick of cosmopolitan Money-power to throw dust in starry eyes.

DION BYNGHAM.

Dunshay Cottage,
Langton Matravers, nr. Swanage.

NCC and pacifism

THE No Conscription Council, as J. Allen Skinner points out in your issue of October 3, has found impetus for a renewal of its campaign against the National Service Act on the submission that peace-time Conscription is draining the sources of our national man-power at a time of grave economic emergency.

This sort of political opportunism is no doubt excusable to a body like the NCC, which does not claim to be exclusively pacifist; at the same time, from the point of view of pacifists, many of whom actively support the Council in its work, it is surely a big shift from the assertion that conscription is an outrage upon the individual conscience, and a denial of our traditions of personal freedom.

The chance to influence a growing section of the public, and perhaps achieve a desirable end "in our time," will attract many pacifists to the campaign. What I am concerned about is that no individual or group shall undertake this work in the name of pacifism or as a declared expression of pacifist method.

I do not think it is corrupt for a person who has declared for the way of co-operation and positive friendship in human affairs to support, let us say, an organisation favouring an international army, or one which seeks to banish war by emphasising the terrors of the Atomic Bomb, so long as he is aware that he is striving in the company of thousands to whom pacifism is a ridiculous notion.

CYRIL F. WRIGHT.

Upfield Cottage,
Brockweir, Chepstow, Mon.

Doubtful figures

THE report of a very interesting debate in Newcastle, between John Morley and Sir Cuthbert Headlam, bears out an objection which I have felt for some time about Anti-Conscription campaigns which are not based purely on pacifist grounds.

So John Morley goes right out to the Beaver for support for his case, and unfortunately quotes a very doubtful passage. The facts seem to be that the Budget includes £900 million for the armed forces; that the gap in our trade balance is £600 million; therefore... But here is the fallacy which so many people do not realise. The first figure is made up of English pounds—admitted they are translated into other currencies later, but only a fraction. (Can

someone tell me how much it is?) Whereas the second figure is anything but English pounds, mostly I suppose, dollars. So in our analysis of these figures we can only argue that to scrap the Forces we shall save a lot of Income Tax, etc., that we shall save also the labour and the equipment, but after that the poor soldiers will still need to eat and clothe.

Let us take care then, that our striking quotations from unsuspected sources are sound in their implications. Let it also be said here that I do not belittle the Newcastle folk in their excellent efforts, which must indeed have given a wide publicity to our case.

G. TATTERSALL.

19 John William Street
Huddersfield.

Civil liberties in the USA

MAURICE CRANSTON'S article on civil liberties in the U.S.A. does not, in my opinion, present a completely accurate account. He is entirely justified in criticising the House Un-American Activities Committee for unfair attacks and uncalled-for criticisms. However, he has picked a poor example when he quotes their description of the Civil Rights Congress as a "Communist Front organisation." Whether or not the House Committee should be making a fuss about such things, the Civil Rights Congress does answer to the usual description of a "Communist Front," respectable sponsors and all.

FRANCES ROSE RANSOM.

War Resisters League,
5 Beekman Street,
New York 7, N.Y.CENTRAL HALL.
Westminster, S.W.1.

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